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Japan Prepares Its Welcome

Edward Neilan

Those Who Prefer Adlai

The Editors

A Sicilian Masterpiece

William Jay Smith

June 20, 1960, 25 cents

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T.R.B. from Washington

Hope for the Best

★ Once Eisenhower is out of the country he represents all of us. It is too late to debate the wisdom of his Asian trip now; we must hope for the best. Some times one can't help wishing, of course, that he might stay at home for awhile. He has had no press conference, for example, in four weeks; FDR held two a week. Congress will be gone in five or six weeks. It is a Democratic Congress with a miserable record so far. Perhaps Eisenhower feels that the less it does the better; yet on one issue, at any rate, he is wholeheartedly committed – foreign aid. As the crucial appropriation battle starts he is off goodwilling in Asia.

Appraising Japan

★ General Douglas MacArthur helped write a quixotic disarmament clause into the Japanese constitution; not a hard thing to do after Hiroshima. The theory was that Japan would be a kind of neutral Switzerland in the Pacific. It is the basis of a large part of our trouble now. Today we are eager to get Japan to rearm, to defend itself (though we do not directly say so); the Russians and Chinese, by contrast, want Japan to stay a sitting duck.

To dismiss the deep emotional uncertainty in Japan over neutralism as simply a "Communist plot" is dangerous oversimplification. Again and again prior to Eisenhower's trip informed correspondents in Tokyo tried to explain this to listeners here; their success is uncertain. Jim Hagerty, for example, one of the best White House public relations men in history who knows little about foreign affairs, told a press conference after being mob-bound in the Tokyo airport that he knew the crowd was Communist because it sang the "Internationale." *New York Times* Tokyo correspondent Robert Trumbull promptly explained that the same tune is the battle song of the principal Japanese labor organization and trade unionists generally. Yet what can an Administration that denounces TVA as "creeping Socialism" believe of a nation whose opposition party (like Britain's) is avowedly Socialist? Japanese who want their country to be neutral (like India, Indonesia and Asian countries generally) are unwise, most of us believe, but not necessarily "anti-American." One can't help wondering how realistic the Administration's appraisal of the situation is, as illustrated by courageous but hazardous insistence on the trip itself.

Ready to Move

★ Last week the California primary showed that there are still more Democrats in California than Republicans, and Governor Rockefeller showed there is more ferment in the Republican Party than some thought. The two developments are connected. The cardinal fact in the 1960 political scene is that 60 percent of all voters who are registered in the US are registered as Democrats. A Republican candidate must attract independents and fringe-Democrats to win; the Taft wing can't win by itself.

We are inclined to think there is another equally important fact. The period of consolidation is ending. For seven years Eisenhower has given the majority of the country exactly what it wanted; he has slowed down the pace of change and allowed the nation to catch up with the radical Roosevelt-Truman innovations without actually abolishing them (and much of the time criticizing them). But now there are stirrings of uneasiness and alarm. Eisenhower is popular and always will be; but the nation is ready to move forward again.

Subtle explanations are given of why Rockefeller lashed out. We suspect it was all pretty simple. We suspect Rockefeller just thought it was the right thing to do. The Presidential election isn't a game; America's fate is not a spectator sport. If Republicans are going to win they must start attracting those independents; if they do that they must drop the Taft banner for the liberal banner. The issues are more important than Nixon or anybody else, Rockefeller probably thought; if Nixon wouldn't state them he would.

Flexible Richard

★ Animosity to flexible Richard Nixon undoubtedly played a part. Rockefeller objected to marching to meet the future under a banner "whose only emblem is a question mark"; he observed that "the path of great leadership does not lie along the top of a fence." Memorable phrases! They will sting and rankle a long time.

Nixon met the onslaught adeptly, we thought; his Camden, N. J., press conference was another brilliant political performance. He adroitly identified Rockefeller with the Democrats and volunteered to let Rockefeller examine him "in depth" over television. He adopted a tone that we are going to hear a good deal of, we guess, in the next four months; mild, dispassionate open-mindedness – the tone of a man taking a patronizing stance above the battle.

Nixon might coast to victory on that. With Kennedy his opponent, he might assume that anti-Catholicism would cut sharply into the Democratic majority. He would stress Kennedy's "youth" (Nixon is four years older) and make his principal opponent Moscow. Don't forget that this election is a triangular affair – a Republican, a Democrat and Khrushchev. It will be one of the stiffest tests of America's political maturity in a long time. Yes, the fluid Mr. Nixon might win in such a contest.

But there is danger in that approach, danger to Nixon and the country. Rockefeller's attack from the Left threatens to identify Nixon politically with the Taft Old Guard (where he probably belongs, though his flexible views are never easy to classify). This doesn't do Nixon any good; he *must* get those independents and Democrats.

And it does the nation absolute harm by clouding the issues in passions and irrelevancies. So far as a Presidential election does permit realistic self-examination, surely we should debate issues raised by Rockefeller that our world position is "dramatically weaker," our growth rate lagging, our defense endangered, our social equipment declining, our diplomacy in question.

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It is time, we believe, for those like ourselves who would prefer Adlai Stevenson or Chester Bowles as the Democratic nominee for President to come to the aid of Jack Kennedy. Of Mr. Bowles' experience and views we have written at some length. Likewise, Adlai Stevenson's merits require little elaboration here. *The New Republic* was the first national publication to call for his nomination in 1952 and supported him strongly in 1956.

After two defeats, Mr. Stevenson might have emulated Tom Dewey and profited from the full-time practice of law. Instead, he continued to educate and to be educated on foreign affairs. There is hardly an issue of foreign policy – atomic testing, disarmament, trade, aid to underdeveloped areas, Berlin, relations with Russia or China – which he has not studied and about which he has not spoken sensibly and decisively. His travels have been prodigious. Only Chester Bowles comes close to having covered as much ground, seen as much or learned as much. He is not essentially a different or smarter man than he was in 1952, but he knows much more. It would be hard to find a national leader anywhere with whom Stevenson has not conferred, or to find a country, however small, with whose problems he is not familiar. His stature abroad is towering.

But Adlai Stevenson's nomination for the Presidency has become a political impossibility. Clearly he is determined not to compete for the nomination in the short time remaining before the July 11 convention. In our judgment, this forecloses the possibility of a last-minute rush of delegates to him, and only a significant handful will be committed to vote for him on the first ballot.

Under the circumstances, we feel there is a better way for these delegates to support the Stevenson-Bowles view, and that is to vote for Kennedy on the first ballot. The votes of Stevenson supporters would almost certainly give Kennedy the necessary 761 to win on an early ballot. Holding out those votes for several rounds could prevent Kennedy from reaching the required total before the convention turned to Johnson or Symington – an outcome painful to contemplate. Of the three contenders, Kennedy strikes us as immeasurably better as a candidate and potential President. We can imagine a vigorous, young Administration under his leadership that would include Adlai Stevenson and Chester Bowles in posts where their experience would count for most. Under a President Johnson or President Symington that vision fades.

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Rockefeller Unleashed

As he has been irresolute in making up his mind to oppose Nixon, Governor Rockefeller was also less than candid in the way he finally delivered his challenge to Vice President Nixon. What compelled him to speak out bluntly, Rockefeller explained in his statement on the Republican Party, is that "I find it unreasonable – in these times – that the leading Republican candidate for the Presidential nomination has firmly insisted upon making known his program and his policies not before, but only after nomination by his party." He had had private assurances last December, said the Governor, that Nixon would speak out – he is still waiting.

This could not have been the determining reason, for Rockefeller must have known, as Nixon was quick to point out in his answering press conference, that the Vice President has spoken repeatedly – in 47 press conferences and forums in the last five months (including the 3¾ hour "Open End" discussion, in addition to his formal speeches) – on all the issues named by the Governor. And if his statements have not always met Rockefeller's demand for "plain talk," "of specific problems, specific actions, specific purposes," Nixon is within shouting distance of the truth when he declares that "I have set forth with greater precision and more detail my views on the major issues than any of the others [potential candidates.]"

It is more reasonable and more flattering to Rockefeller to believe that he has drawn a bead on Nixon not because he does not know where Nixon stands, but because he does know, does not approve of the position, or trust the man taking it. Why, then, has he hesitated so long to say so? He says it is because he did not wish to embarrass the Administration before the Summit conference, though how what he has since said would have embarrassed the President at the Summit is unclear. Moreover, if his distrust of the Vice President is so deep as to compel Mr. Rockefeller to challenge his views or his good faith four weeks before the convention, it is hard to understand why, at this time, he unequivocally answers "yes" to the question "Would you go all out for Nixon if he is nominated?"

The only plausible interpretation we can find for his timing is that Mr. Rockefeller is now convinced that the "people who control the Republican organization didn't want competition" – and that he is playing for '64. But will the Republicans like him any more then than now? The "specific actions" he proposes are almost indistinguishable from those of leading Democrats on foreign policy and defense. And men who are working out policy papers on these problems for the Democratic convention express the private opinion that Rockefeller's statement reads much the way the Democratic platform should read this year.

Rockefeller shares the Democratic preference for the Forand bill's approach to medical care for the aged, financed through the social security system. Nixon and Eisenhower disagree. He also voices the Democratic criticism that federal aid to education, even the limited program recommended by the President, has not been approved because "a number of Republican leaders have managed, one way or another, to join with the Democrats to block effective action."

There is, it is true, less than complete harmony between Rockefeller and liberal Democrats on economic affairs. Governor Rockefeller's statement substantially reiterates his major speech before the Economic Club of New York last November. The tax revision he proposes in the interest of higher investment implies reduction of very high incremental rates on personal income, more generous depreciation allowances, and possibly a lower corporate tax rate as well. Such changes would be beneficial only if they were accompanied by reduced depletion allowances, tightened rules on business expense accounts, fewer dividend report loopholes, and policed stock option plans.

Now, as last November, the Governor's proposal to eliminate featherbedding is vague. So also is his "redefinition of our farm program to make low income farmers more productive members of the economy." If the Governor means to recommend that the shift of marginal farmers from the farm to the factory should be accelerated, he should say so plainly.

Finally, the guarded endorsement of compulsory arbitration in major strikes is proposed on a mistaken premise and evades a major problem. The premise is the judgment of the steel strike as inflationary. If, as seems likely, steel prices rise after the election, the cause will be much less wage boosts than the monopolistic character of the industry. The major problem evaded is the selection of criteria to guide the arbitration. In their absence, there is no assurance that compulsory arbitration will produce a more just or socially useful settlement than unimpeded negotiation.

But in general, Governor Rockefeller's emphasis on growth and upon social welfare reflects the views of Senators Humphrey, Douglas and Clark. His support of federal scholarships, school construction, and the use of the social security system to provide medical care for the aged contrasts favorably with the attitude of most Republicans and the evasions of his major rival, Vice President Nixon. Taken on the whole, his proposals would land him in the center of the Democratic Party should he really decide it's time for a change. But he'll have to decide; he can't forever say of this Administration that the "results are superb" and simultaneously attack it for doing too little. If he means to remake the Republican Party in his image, he has his work cut out for him. And he has the memory of Wendell Willkie to haunt him.

Still, if he has concluded that his party is about to

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"march through a slaughter-house into an open grave," he is under no obligation to remain silent now. On the contrary, if calamity does befall, one leader undamaged by the crash may be precious in the eyes of a confused and abraded GOP. Mr. Rockefeller is only 52, young for a national leader; and "the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts."

Israel and the Law

Israel's condonation of the "volunteers" who seized Adolph Eichmann and flew him to Israel left the Argentine Government with no self-respecting alternative but to file a strenuous protest against an affront to Argentine sovereignty. What, after all, has been the world's view of the barely-concealed Soviet complicity in the murder, in Mexico, of Leon Trotsky? Or of the kidnaping, in West Berlin, of Dr. Walter Linse of the Committee of Free Jurists, whose death in a Soviet prison camp in 1953 was only last week acknowledged by the Soviet Red Cross? Or, to bring the point closer to home, were not Americans justly outraged at the role apparently played by the Dominican Republic in the abduction of the late Dr. Galindez, who seems to have been taken by Dominican agents from his haven in New York to his death at the hands of Trujillo?

Surely what Israel should have done, after Eichmann was spotted in Argentina, was (as Argentina herself now seems to suggest) to make a formal request to Argentina for Eichmann's extradition – or else to persuade Chancellor Adenauer, or perhaps indeed the four powers which managed the Nuremberg Trials, to make such a request so that Eichmann could have been tried at the scene of his crimes.

The state of Israel would do well to confess error and hand Eichmann back to the Argentine authorities, hoping that they in turn will cooperate in bringing him to trial before a tribunal – be it Israeli, German or international – competent to try the Nazis who, beyond Israel's boundaries and before Israel became a sovereign nation, slaughtered millions of Jews.

If Israel ignores the Argentine protest, the chance that Israel's courts will find in Eichmann's kidnaping a ground for refusing to entertain his prosecution seems remote. And it is an unhappy irony that Israel can find in American law substantial authority for the propriety of disregarding Eichmann's plea. To this day Morton Sobell languishes in a federal prison on an espionage conviction despite his claim – thus far neither substantiated nor disproved – that American agents instigated or conspired with Mexican police to kidnap Sobell in Mexico City and transport him across the US border.

An anecdote in Justice Frankfurter's current volume of reminiscences describes a conversation he had in 1914 with his late friend Enoch Crowder, who was then Judge Advocate General: "I remember shocking him – the difference between a civilian and a military tradition – when he came into my room and said, 'Frankfurter, I want you to help me. I've just been over to the White House' – this was just after we had seized the customs house at Vera Cruz – 'and I'm asked to write a memorandum whether that seizure should be treated as an act of war and what its status is in international law.'

"I said, 'General, I'm going to ask to be excused. I don't have to work on that. I know the answer to that.'

" 'You do?'

" 'Yes, I do.'

" 'What is the answer?'

" 'It would be an act of war against a great nation; it isn't against a small nation.'

" 'I can't give him that.'

" 'I know you can't, but that's the answer'."

The answer is good as far as it goes. But in the present case it doesn't go far enough. If Prime Minister Ben Gurion returns Eichmann to Argentina, he will strike a needed blow for international order. Alternatively, if the judges of Israel rise above American precedents and refuse to proceed with Eichmann's case, they will vindicate a principle which Judge Cuthbert Pound of the New York Court of Appeals articulated almost 40 years ago: "Although the defendant may be the worst of men . . . the rights of the best of men are secure only as the rights of the vilest and most abhorrent are protected." Nor would Judge Pound have claimed any novelty for his principle. It goes back tens of centuries, deep into the law and history upon which Israel is built.

Summer in the Congo

The dogged approach of Europeans to the ritual of a summer holiday has long provided novelists with rewarding grist. This month, there is a reminder, in Africa, that the custom has historical significance too.

Press reports emanating from Leopoldville, in the Belgian Congo, on the "mass exodus" of Europeans prior to the June 30 independence date contain a considerable element of truth, but they do not take into account that June is always a month of exodus from the Congo, particularly for women and children. The extent to which these exaggerated accounts of panic and flight have encouraged the Africans to excesses in their relations with resident Europeans is not yet measurable. But they have certainly done nothing to calm a nervous, rumor-filled country where it is literally true that anything might happen, and where it is vitally important for both Belgians and Africans that it does not.

The degree of mutual dependence between the departing colonial power and the new African government is greater in the Congo than in any other emerging state in Africa. It is no exaggeration to say that the

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entire Belgian economy would be seriously endangered if the Dutch experience in Indonesia were repeated here. Despite a very heavy flight of capital from the Congo since approaching independence became a reality – $70 million in 1959 and a reported $28 million in one recent 28-day period – the Belgian investment remains very high. Estimates of the stake of private investors reach as high as a billion dollars, and the Belgian Government is almost as deeply involved through guarantees made for externally-financed loans to the Congo Government.

Equally, the Africans desperately need continued Belgian guidance. The Congolese politicians who have sprung into prominence since 1959 are, through lack of opportunity, totally inexperienced in dealing with the administrative and technical problems of operating a government, an economy as relatively complex as that of the Congo, or even a political party.

The paternalistic colonial regime which existed prior to 1959 offered Africans social security and a reasonably rewarding role in an expanding economy, but made no attempt to prepare them for responsibility – because it was assumed that Belgium would rule the Congo for another half century at least. Thus, no Congolese participated in the governing process at any level before the municipal elections of 1957; the higher and even middle echelons of the civil service were exclusively Belgian; political parties were firmly discouraged; and the broadly-based educational system made no provision for higher education. In 1959, the literacy rate in the Congo was among the highest in Africa, but there were less than 20 university graduates among the country's 13 million Africans.

When it became clear that the nationalist fires sweeping the rest of the continent had irreversibly moved into the Congo, the pragmatic Belgians quickly moved to cut their economic losses by Africanizing the administration and creating an heir to whom power might be surrendered in the shortest possible time. It has, of course, proved extraordinarily difficult to create a governing elite overnight in a country where all previous efforts had been directed toward keeping one from developing. Although two excellent universities now exist at Elizabethville and Leopoldville, neither has yet had time to graduate a single Congolese engineer, medical doctor, prospective university professor or lawyer. Without heavy infusions of outside technical and administrative counsel, the new governors of the Congo – whatever specific coalition emerges from the current post-election battle for power – will not be able to transform the immense natural wealth of this country into prosperity.

Some Congolese leaders recognize that the alternative to continued ties with Belgium (or a substitute power) is an unproductive and self-defeating *Mossadeqism*, but anyone who admits this publicly risks being branded a colonial stooge. Ironically, the influence which could have the most positive effect in impelling the Congolese to cease name-calling and pool their resources in a national coalition which recognizes both its responsibilities and its limitations is the press of the neighboring Rhodesias and South Africa. The Congo's white-governed Southern neighbors are waiting with undisguised eagerness for the country to collapse into tribalism and economic chaos, thus substantiating the settler view that white leadership is essential to the interests of all races in this part of Africa. Another stabilizing factor in a decidedly unstable situation is the attitude of the other African independent states, which see the Congo as a crucial touchstone. Ghana and Nigeria are preparing to send strong adviser-ambassadors to the newly-independent states and, in the interim, are pressing the Congolese leaders to take the long view and "keep cool."

Coffee for Comrade K

In a speech in New York last week, Brazilian Ambassador Salles underlined the unsatisfactory state of the world coffee market, on which his country depends for nearly two-thirds of its foreign exchange. Brazil's exports have shot up from 11 million bags in 1954 to 17.5 million last year, but price declines during the same period cut her income from $948 to $750 million. This decline, along with drought, floods, and heavy spending on the new capital of Brasilia, has pushed the *cruziero* down to nearly 200 to the dollar. The US, which has been turning to African suppliers, has refused to subscribe to any stabilization agreement, and the IMF has been reluctant to make loans until Brazil checks her inflationary fiscal policies. The US has also refused to loan any money to Petrobras, the government oil monopoly, on the dogmatic ground that petroleum development is a task for private capital. These financial problems are intertwined with election-year politics; Brazil will elect a new president on October 3.

Last month's Soviet trade mission, the first to Brazil since World War II, has stepped into the gap. The USSR has agreed to take 333 thousand bags of coffee this year, 480 thousand next year, and 666 thousand in 1962; in return, Brazil will receive Soviet oil, wheat, airplanes and drilling equipment. Other agreements recently signed will barter coffee and minerals for Polish foodstuffs, Czech tractors, and East German fertilizers and road-building equipment. The USSR has even agreed to sponsor an advertising campaign to teach tea-drinking Soviet citizens the delights of a good cup of coffee. The President of the Brazilian Coffee Institute optimistically talks of a Russian market of 10 million bags a year by 1970, and came back from Peking, with a vision of teaching even the Chinese Communists "to drink just one little cup of coffee a day."

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The Scuffed-Up Welcome Mat

Tokyo

The great silver jet which to many Orientals will look more like a bomber than a dove of peace will be carrying President Eisenhower and his golf clubs toward Tokyo on the same island-hopping approach that US forces and our holocaust-bearing B29's used in the last days of World War II. This time, however, the welcoming party awaiting the President in this bustling largest city in the world will not be there to sign any surrender. The "welcome" placards have been posted for weeks: "Ike stay home," "Americans get out of Asia," "Take Kishi with you" and so on. Groups ranging in size from tiny artist-writer societies to the 3.5 million leftist *Sohyo* (General Council of Japan Labor Unions) have promised to be out on the streets on June 19 to throw shouts of unwelcome and, perhaps, rocks. The ultra-radical *Zengakuren* student organization undoubtedly is planning a stunt to top its most imaginative performance to date: a mass urination on the Diet steps last month in protest of the US-Japan Security Treaty.

The Japanese who say that these anti-American expressions do not represent a majority of the populace, and that the citizenry is unwittingly including anti-American slogans in its present anti-Kishi mood are not very reassuring. The same thing could have been said in the late 1930's about the militarists in Japan who were in the minority, but who were extremely vocal and effective. The minority led the nation with gradually conditioned approval to Pearl Harbor.

Neither is the suggestion of Kazushige Hirasawa, editor of the pro-American English-language *Japan Times*, very helpful. "I myself do not think this is the best time for Eisenhower's visit," he said. "In fact, I think it would have been better if we could gracefully ask him to postpone it." This regretful opinion overlooks the great effort to which international Communism has gone to mold the shape of present protests, admittedly with numerous assists from circumstance.

No matter what date for President Eisenhower's visit had been selected, a crisis of some sort would have been manufactured. Japan is a unique storehouse of elements for controversy in East-West relations. Hiroshima laid a foundation for Japanese pacifism and suspicion of military resurgence at home and abroad. The Kishi Government's plan to beef up self-defense forces and allow the US bases on Japanese soil (including take-off points for two blackpainted U-2s) naturally aggravate the genuine aversion to further war. The US-Japan Security Treaty with its provisions for American bases can easily be portrayed as a military alliance; Khrushchev's warning of retaliation against countries which allow US planes to take off for flights over Russian territory understandably unsettles the Japanese; and the treaty's implication of alignment with the West conflicts with the neutralism that is almost a necessity of Japanese economics. Geographically, highly industrial Japan must trade increasingly with other Asian nations. Someday this must include more trade with Communist China and North Korea, an eventuality which unquestionably will aggravate Japan's relations with Nationalist China, South Korea and the US.

It has been perhaps the most admirable facet of our own Far East policy that we have stressed rebuilding Japanese industrial might. A Japanese professor told me last year that in his opinion his country's businessmen and industrialists were far ahead of its politicians in creating postwar Japan's place in the world. But this seems to be a truism recognized by Communists as well. They have nothing in Asia to compete with Japan's industrial machinery; indeed, the Communists want to get the country on their side for that very reason. The Formosa Strait, Korea, Okinawa are peripheral when compared to the position of Japan. If this island chain ever fell, America's front-line defense would have to be withdrawn to Hawaii.

A disturbing aspect of democracy here is that the minority which has never claimed elections were unfair resorts to violence in the Diet when faced with the prospect of being outvoted. And when it is outvoted, it threatens to walk out, as most of the Socialist members of Parliament have now done. Lacking as yet is the tacit agreement – necessary to any functioning of a democratic parliament – that the loser must become a responsible opposition and await ascendance to power through future elections rather than through violent obstruction. But to this we must add that the Kishi Government's own bungling and insistence on ramming the Security Pact through the lower house helped to cloud the question of parliamentary correctness.

It is a sad commentary on the state of international affairs today that so great an issue has been made of Eisenhower's visit, a visit which was ostensibly to commemorate 100 years of Nippo-American friendship. It is not pleasant to anticipate the President's requiring protection by 25,000 police. But I firmly believe the visit should not be cancelled or postponed. To bow to organized and instigated threats now would be to invite the

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launching here of an even more intense campaign of anti-Americanism.

And in Korea . . .

But if the President finds there are thorns and thistles in the welcome bouquet awaiting him in Japan, he will also find, when he visits South Korea that the American presence there is not unqualifiedly welcomed. Resentment in this small, historically-abused and chauvinistic country is by no means dominant at the moment, but we should not be deluded by the gushing press reports following the April revolution that Koreans were "overjoyed" with American intervention. For one of the few times in this century the US identified with the will of the Korean people, and that was appreciated. US Ambassador Walter P. McConaughy was roundly cheered for urging Syngman Rhee to step down during the crucial days. Less publicized, however, was the student demonstration in Taegu two weeks ago in which "McConaughy Go Home" placards protested his part in helping Rhee "escape" to Hawaii.

Acknowledging that there are two sides to the coin of US popularity in Korea, it is still temporarily remote that any explosion will occur during Eisenhower's visit. A large, new influx of agents from North Korea has been noted, and events of the days ahead will mirror their effectiveness or lack of it. There is every indication that Eisenhower's reception here will be among the most sincere and spontaneous of his entire itinerary; this in spite of repeated slights – to which obdurate Korea is already resigned – like the June 5 Associated Press story datelined Washington: ". . . There was no immediate indication of White House reaction to the suggestion that Eisenhower extend his stay in Seoul. To do so would require spending at least the night of June 22 there, cutting one day off his planned golfing vacation in Hawaii." Some sources here believe it would be worth sacrificing at least the last nine holes if Eisenhower could remain long enough to get a better impression of what has transpired since the April revolution. The broom of reform is still sweeping, although less energetically than last month when all established order came close to being swept away. The swerve toward anarchy has been checked; order and public confidence in banks and other institutions is gradually being restored. Neutralization of the police and punishment of election criminals are underway, and industrialists who contributed to illegal funds of the old Liberal Party have been indicted.

Mr. Chung Huh's interim government is expected to call for a National Assembly vote on June 14 or 15 on constitutional amendments changing the Republic's form of government from a Presidential to a Cabinet system. Passage by two-third's majority has been assumed, and new elections are scheduled during the last week in July for a new National Assembly which then would elect a ceremonial President, who in turn would designate a Premier to form a Cabinet.

One of the obstacles to this course has been Chung Hoon Koh, former Counterintelligence Corps Lieutenant Colonel and editorial writer for the respected *Chosun Ilbo*. Koh formed a Young Guardian of the Republic Party, the name of which was changed two weeks ago to the Social Reformation Party. Koh's platform is similar to that of the myriad other Socialist parties: dissolution of the conservative National Assembly whose majority are holdovers from the Rhee regime, immediate elections, and drastic reforms.

In his drive to become known, Koh sharply attacked past and incumbent politicians. The conservative interim government, feeling that he had gone too far, has now placed him under arrest, presumably until after the elections. This move, which smacked to some of a replay of the Rhee record, has had a unifying effect among divergent Socialist groups, and they are certain to win a sizable bloc of seats in the Assembly. Most of their support comes from Pusan and the Southern provinces. But although the Socialist forces are gaining strength, the possibility is remote that they will unseat the conservative majority of Democrats, Liberals and Independents in July. The US is cooperating with Huh's government in this shaky interim period but at the same time is quietly hospitable to various Socialist and other groups. Persistent rumors are now circulating that "certain American elements" are backing Koh financially. This is apparently in reference to one of the US "spook" agencies. The main hope of the US, however, is that the July elections will be fair and parliamentary procedures observed.

Speaking at a meeting at the Seoul Correspondents Club on June 8, a ranking official of the US Embassy said, "Interim government has already proved itself imminently worthy of our support. However we're not backing any single political group to the exclusion of others. We encourage economic planning within the government but we do not advocate socialist-type planned economy."

But as in Japan, democratic tradition is young and violence is a distinct possibility. Eisenhower's visit comes just hours before June 25, the tenth anniversary of the start of the Korean War which was one of the major issues in the President's 1952 campaign and Administration. If Old Soldier Ike is able to help soothe the dissension-racked South Korean Army, the fourth largest in the world in terms of manpower, he will have been helpful. Turkish officers admitted their *coup d'etat* was inspired by the Korean uprising. Now some Korean young Turks seem to be entertaining political ideas: several senior officers already have yielded to pressure from junior officers and resigned.

EDWARD NEILAN

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Espionage from the Air

Progress in photo-reconnaissance has been going on under a heavy cloak of secrecy, a cloak that was lifted slightly five years ago. That was after the first Summit Conference, in 1955, when President Eisenhower had made his "open skies" proposal for an exchange of defense maps and mutual aerial inspection of the United States and the Soviet Union.

To promote Mr. Eisenhower's proposal, the Air Force set up an exhibit called "Mutual Inspection for Peace," across from the United Nations headquarters in New York. Russian delegates to the UN were among the most attentive visitors. One of the displays was a single strip of film, 200 feet long by nine inches wide, mapping an area of the United States 2,700 miles long and 490 miles wide from Los Angeles to New York. An Air Force photographic plane had made this strip map in 6 hours and 55 minutes in 1948.

Capabilities of modern photo-reconnaissance techniques were described at the time by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., chairman of the United States delegation to the UN. He said it already was possible "to make a complete, accurate, meaningful photographic survey of a country the size even of the Soviet Union or the United States in a matter of less than six months – and to keep making it week after week to see changes."

If that statement seems now to have foreshadowed the U-2 operation, consider an article published by *U.S. News & World Report* on August 5, 1955, two weeks after Mr. Eisenhower had made his proposal at the United Nations. In that copyrighted article, Col. Richard S. Leghorn of the United States Air Force Reserve put the whole U-2 scheme into print. Colonel Leghorn, an authority on aerial reconnaissance who helped develop the "open skies" proposal as a member of Eastman Kodak's international sales division, strongly defended what he called "aerial spying" as being no more provocative than conventional espionage.

"Aerial spying on the Soviet Union – done covertly and without Soviet permission – can be carried out with a very, very small probability of loss and with great gains for the West," he wrote. "I, for one, firmly believe that we can conduct such reconnaissance missions over Soviet territory without their being able to do anything about it – with very rare exceptions."

He went on to predict that a few hand-tooled reconnaissance planes could be maintained through the years substantially superior to any air-defense system that could be devised to protect an area as vast as the USSR.

He continued: "If the Soviets are provoked by reconnaissance into a major attempt to improve their air defense, we can only gain by their draining engineering and production talents from offensive to defensive activities. Most importantly, knowledge that we can perform aerial inspection regardless of Soviet military opposition will be the most significant factor in bringing the Soviets to eventual acceptance of the President's proposal."

Five years later, at the time of another Summit Conference, the cloak of secrecy has been lifted once more, this time by the Russians, in Premier Khrushchev's exposure of the plane downed near Sverdlovsk. But the pictures the Air Force has been showing to demonstrate the excellence of the surveillance technique are mainly reprints of photos used in the 1955 publicity campaign.

Persons who have seen some of the recent U-2 pictures made on flights crisscrossing the Soviet Union are amazed at the progress that has been made in the last five years. These persons say the recent U-2 pictures show missile emplacements, military plants and airfields in close-up detail that far excels the photograph published by *Pravda* from films taken from the downed U-2, showing lines of bombers at a Soviet airfield.

Recent photo-mapping of the Soviet Union is so good, in fact, that some officials familiar with them are urging that President Eisenhower make public a batch of the pictures, announce that the flights will be resumed, and dare the Russians to try to stop them. This course is not likely, however, since the President's frankness policy seems to have ruled out further use of Turkish, Pakistani and Norwegian bases for the purpose, and since Khrushchev could be expected to react violently to such a further challenge to Russia's defensive capabilities. One experimental picture made with newly-developed equipment shows a golf course near Fort Worth from an altitude of nine miles. Automobiles, players and even golf balls are distinguishable by skilled photo interpreters.

The need for sharper pictures was demonstrated in 1957 in the attack on Suez. Royal Air Force planes, lacking precise views of Egyptian air fields, were tricked into attacking dummy rubber planes.

Among the latest equipment designed to meet this need is the KS-25 high-acuity camera system developed by the Fairchild Camera & Instrument Corporation for the Air Force. Deliveries began this spring. Fairchild says its new system can detect objects down to two feet in diameter from altitudes of 100,000 feet (almost 19 miles) at speeds of more than 1,200 miles an hour. Thus an interpreter could tell the size of an aircraft engine, the caliber of an anti-aircraft battery or the exact shape of an aircraft wing, the firm says.

First requirements for that kind of photography are extremely fine-grain film and an excellent telescopic lens. In addition, there must be special devices to pre-

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vent blurring of the picture – shock-resistant mountings to insulate against plane vibration, a special low-shock shutter, automatic setting of focus and exposure, and an arrangement to move the film at the time of exposure to offset the forward motion of the plane. Even using transistors in the complicated control mechanisms, this camera system weighs 325 pounds, including 75 pounds for the lens alone.

Certain photographic tricks help provide still more information about ground installations. One is to aim pairs of cameras forward and backward to make overlapping pictures of the same area for a three-dimensional view. A special color film penetrates camouflage, showing all living vegetation containing natural chlorophyl in bright red. Everything else, such as cut branches used to conceal a tank, or buildings or equipment painted to look like foliage, appears in a dull gray-green.

For night flying, or when clouds interfere with ordinary photography, an infra-red detector can scan the ground and produce a crude picture that is good enough to show roads, factory buildings and missile-launching pads, which radiate more heat than their surroundings. Lakes and rivers, being cooler than adjoining land, show up clearly through this technique.

Often these methods are combined. By looking at different kinds of pictures of the same area, a skilled spotter can interpret details he might otherwise miss.

Persons familiar with the Air Force reconnaissance satellites Midas and Samos are inclined to be conservative in predicting how soon these reconnaissance sateilites will become operational and how good their pictures will be. Without going too deeply into technical details, it can be said that it will be a long time before they replace the U-2, and that of two equally precise cameras, one borne by satellite suffers certain disadvantages over one borne by high-altitude jet plane. An informed estimate of the Samos capability is that it will have a resolution (the resolution of a camera is the smallest object it can photograph precisely enough to give some idea of its conformation) of six feet in two years and three feet ultimately, compared to about one foot for the present U-2.

"Let Us Know If You See Any Silver Linings"

The foremost difficulty is getting the picture back to earth from a satellite. Unless the cumbersome and unreliable method of re-entry and recovery of the actual film is employed, the picture must be transmitted back to earth by radio, through some scanning technique resembling television. The experts say radio transmission of a picture results in an immediate "degradation" of 75 percent – that is, the picture received on the ground shows only one-fourth the detail in the original.

Instead of flying at 13 to 15 miles, moreover, the satellite camera is 200 to 300 miles above the ground. The rule here is that every time you double the altitude you double the "degradation." In other words, a picture made from 15 times as high as another is only one-fifteenth as good.

There are still other difficulties. The satellite camera must be extra rugged to withstand the shock of blasting off. Weight and power are at a premium in a satellite, probably much more so than in a U-2. Far above the atmosphere, free neutrons bombard the film and leave streaks. Controls must be either automatic or operated remotely. A satellite, moreover, has a fixed orbit and cannot choose its weather to avoid the clouds and haze that are the worst enemies of aerial photo-reconnaissance.

Conceding all these disadvantages, the men who are familiar with the new space devices have one principal reply. It is not particularly convincing. They say that the U-2 photos are so extremely good that they are far better than necessary, and that far poorer pictures will be good enough to provide adequate intelligence about Soviet ground installations.

This answer may have some truth in it, but another conclusion also presents itself: Espionage flights across the Soviet Union are finished, at least for the present, but someone must be working on plans for a successor to the U-2, one that can possibly fly still higher and can avoid using the allied bases, either by operating from aircraft carriers or else by increased range that will permit trans-Soviet flights originating and terminating on United States territory.

RICHARD DUDMAN

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THE FUTURE IN SEARCH OF A CANDIDATE – II

The career of Stuart Symington is examined in this second of a four-part series on avowed Democratic candidates which opened last week with a discussion of Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson. An assessment of John F. Kennedy will appear in The New Republic *next week.*

Poker-Playing Stu

by Selig S. Harrison

"How does Stu stand on the issues?" asked the straight man in one of the skits at the 1960 Gridiron Dinner. "He doesn't stand on issues," confided a performer impersonating Symington's campaign manager, Clark Clifford. "He just kinda leans on 'em."

Stuart Symington may have earned his reputation as a leaner, but the most important fact about his candidacy is that where Presidential leadership has its critically direct and decisive impact – defense and foreign policy – he has usually leaned in a single direction. His preoccupation with power, notably military power, recurs throughout his career. Bear in mind, he admonishes his listeners, "the immortal remark of one of our greatest airmen, the late General 'Hap' Arnold: the second best Air Force is worth exactly as much as the second best poker hand." Talking informally, he will say that, in general, the contest in which the great power blocs are engaged "is not chess – it's poker."

The significance of the analogy emerges when one reads the somewhat different analysis by Walter Lippmann. What does it take to deal with the Russians? "Among the first questions I would ask a candidate," Lippmann wrote, "is whether he had ever played the game of chess. For chess is . . . the kind of game which in its basic intellectual requirements is remarkably like high strategic and political action. . . . No one can play chess without strong pieces, any more than a statesman can succeed without strong forces. But the game is to outwit your opponent by the way you move the pieces."

"You cannot win a chess game," Lippmann concluded, "by telling your opponent or the spectators that your own white pieces are obviously purer and nobler than his sinister black pieces. . . . You cannot, as in the national game of poker, sweep the board by a big bluff. . . . There are those among us who think that dealing with the Russians is not like chess. The best job, they feel, will be done by the man who has shown that he . . . will never move his pieces in any direction except forward. They misjudge the game that is being played. They misjudge the kind of struggle we are in."

Now, Mr. Lippmann did not name names, and he might not agree that his remarks apply to any candidate in particular. Perhaps none of the candidates, Symington included, really thinks in terms so uncomplicated that he can be filed away as a "poker" or "chess" player. Symington, certainly, is not inflexible; he studies, he reads; he is willing to change and update his ideas. He has taken pains in the past two years to talk about non-defense matters in the hope of shaking off his reputation as a "one-issue man." What he says in an interview today tempers and modifies some of what he has been saying in earlier years, but what he now says must be read against the record.

Symington had been in Washington little more than a year when, as Assistant War Secretary for Air in 1946, he stirred up the State Department with a plan to "show the flag" by sending a fleet of B-29 superfortresses on a round-the-world flight. "He disclosed the project at a news conference before it had been discussed with any other interested department or the White House," wrote Associated Press diplomatic reporter John M. Hightower. "Startled" State Department officials appeared "concerned about the possibility of overdoing the 'firmness' policy toward Russia insofar as making a show of American strength is involved." It would have been one thing, reported Hightower, had the mission been presented as a technical operation to iron out the big bombers' fueling problems. But "the diplomatic questions were injected by Symington when he said the flight would be like the United States fleet voyages of other days." The Secretary seemed to have in mind sending the planes over "such a controversial spot as the Dardanelles, where their presence might be interpreted as a crude, even threatening demonstration of the striking power of the American air arm."

Symington has "often stated" (according to the *St.*

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Louis Post-Dispatch, whose editors have held periodic off-the-record conversations with him) that at the time of the Berlin Blockade in 1948 "he favored replying to that blockade with military power instead of an airlift. How wrong history has shown him to be! The West maintained its position in Berlin and yet did so without provoking hostilities – a diplomatic triumph."

It was during the blockade and his tenure as Air Secretary that Symington had a much-discussed dinner party for Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and Clark Clifford which was to give rise to the impression in some quarters that he was an advocate of preventive war. As Symington recalls it, he wanted Clifford (then Harry Truman's counsel in the White House) to propose that the President send Eisenhower as a special emissary to Stalin. These were the last months, so it developed, of the US nuclear monopoly, and Symington wanted the US to offer an A-bomb control agreement under which both countries would be open to inspection. Precisely what sort of ultimatum the US should have been prepared to lay down in the event of a Soviet rebuff Symington has never ventured to say; Eisenhower, in any case, killed the idea.

"Somewhere, on Some Basis"

"During his period as Air Secretary," Edward P. Morgan observes in *Candidates 1960*, Symington "badly frightened a lot of people, including some of the most responsible journalists in Washington, into thinking he was a preventive-war man who would push the panic button on the thinnest pretext." The Navy, however, was quietly helping spread the alarum to discredit Symington's crusade for a 70-group Air Force, and the Senator himself told Morgan that "I have never, ever, been for preventive war. I do not think any man has a right, either, to rule it out, unequivocally, under any and all circumstances."

(Symington's industrialist friend Robert C. Sprague, one of the drafters of the Gaither Report, is an advocate of the new "pre-emptive war" doctrine: "If we have strategic intelligence that the Russians are planning a strike against us, we should certainly make the first strike." But Symington, asked if he is in agreement with this, says: "No, I am not. Deterrence of aggression is our national policy and I support it. If our retaliatory power is in doubt, this doubt may invite aggression. On the other hand, if our retaliatory capabilities are kept relatively invulnerable, our deterrent against attack is at its strongest. Let me repeat, therefore, I am not for pre-emptive war.")

As chairman of the National Security Resources Board from May, 1950, until April, 1951, Symington sat in on National Security Council meetings during the Korean War. He often found himself at odds with the State Department and even with basic Truman strategic policy. For example, he took the side of Gen. Douglas MacArthur in the bitter intra-Administration dispute over whether US planes during the Korean fighting should have crossed the Yalu River in pursuit of attacking Communist planes based in Manchuria. "Hot pursuit" was perhaps the major controversy between MacArthur and Truman throughout the tense months leading up to the General's dismissal in April, 1951. General war or peace turned on the resolution of that dispute in the eyes of Truman advisers, who warned that Communist China, then employing only "volunteers," might in the event of a Yalu crossing have felt impelled to enter the conflict directly – which might, in turn, have embroiled the Soviet Union in view of its 1950 treaty with Peking.

Although he did not make his views public at the time, on March 23, 1953, as a Senator interrogating Gen. James A. Van Fleet (then recently retired as UN Commander in Korea), Symington asked in passing whether he thought "our pilots should have had the right of hot pursuit across the Yalu?" "I certainly do," replied the General. "So do I," commented Symington. In the just-published *Front Runner, Dark Horse*, Ralph G. Martin and Ed Plaut quote a former staff aide as saying that Symington held quite definite views on the Yalu issue and "would have voted to give our fighter pilots the right of hot pursuit . . . if it had come up for a vote and he had been there."

In a colloquy with Leverett Saltonstall on July 21, 1954, Symington dissented from the Indo-China settlement then being negotiated at Geneva and expressed his sympathy for the campaign conducted earlier in the year by Admiral Arthur Radford for US intervention at Dienbienphu. He was distressed that "our recent policies in the Far East have been adopted over the direct protest of members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I believe there are members of our Joint Chiefs who agree with many members of the Senate on both sides of the aisle that the time for appeasement of Communist aggression is over, and that we must make a stand somewhere, on some basis. Let me add that I am very proud of those members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who feel as they do in that connection."

Later, after he and Minority Leader Knowland had agreed in one of those Senate love-feasts that "coexistence" reminded them of the old story about the lady and the tiger, Senator Stennis interjected that "I disagree with him somewhat about going into Indo-China." "I do not think I said we should go into Indo-China," Symington replied. "I believe, however, that the free world should not have gone out of Indo-China."

He seemed reluctant to give up the idea of that one, make-or-break bet that would call the Communists' bluff – a firm stand "somewhere, on some basis." "Some Administration leaders now urge us to reconcile ourselves to a world of coexistence. Others say such a

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coexistent world is impossible. Whichever faction is right, our hope lies in growing . . . and staying strong."

As 1955 went along, Symington was still offering a military explanation for the Indo-China debacle ("Who can assert that there would have been . . . a Dienbienphu if the strength of the Free World had been respected"?). And he was an uncritical supporter of the Administration's Formosa Resolution. (On February 2, 1953, he praised as "a fine talk" the Eisenhower unleash-Chiang speech which John Sparkman and others were sharply questioning.) But by 1955 he was also capable of saying that "we had better be emphasizing something besides military strength. . . . The second largest nation in Asia is India. I feel that we must exercise infinite patience, and at times have the boldest program in that area, so as to enable the Indian people to save themselves from ultimate collapse." He has become increasingly committed to the support of large-scale economic aid: on his return from an African tour in January (eight countries in 15 days) he went so far as to advocate $1 billion in US economic aid each year for Africa alone.

In a recent interview Symington sounded at times not at all like the Symington of five years ago. As President, he would seek "some better working relationship with China. I would be very anxious to see that. Of course it would have to be done step by step but we have to try it. As it is, we're turning our back on people who want to stab us – which I don't think makes sense – and we're arbitrarily cutting ourselves off from a lot of trade. It would be the obligation of any leader of this country to improve relations there."

He would reappraise the structure of our alliances and overseas bases. In the age of ICBM's, "you no longer have any great military asset in these countries. I don't see any value remotely comparable as in the past." Just when they could be dispensed with in each case "would depend on how we were coming along, and we wouldn't want to pull out of some places abruptly, in such a way as to disrupt the local situation."

A Problem of ABC's

Talking with Symington, one is struck by his discomfiture at grappling with issues in the large ("I don't like to talk about the philosophy of it") and his habit of reducing the discussion of almost any specific issue to specific people. Africa, for example, had an impact on him; he is acutely aware of its importance to the United States. Yet a discussion of Africa with Symington comes down almost wholly to what he said to the Prime Minister of Guinea or what the Prime Minister said to the American Ambassador or what "a fine Negro face" so and so had. He was extremely impressed by the Negro US Ambassador in Guinea, John Morrow, and one gets the feeling that Symington's present thoughts about Africa (*e.g.* $1 billion in aid, less red tape restricting the use of aid funds) simply reflect Morrow ideas. Though he has a lively curiousity and "does his homework," even admirers say that he does not like to think in terms of big, general issues. He will look at A and B and C, but his is not the sort of mind that links up the parts, analytically, into an interrelated whole.

In Guinea, as an informed observer pointed out last week in these pages, the Russians (and the Czechs and Hungarians) have deeply penetrated; the complexities of competitive coexistence can be studied here in microcosm. But the most relentless pursuit draws out of Symington no rounded thoughts on the underlying problems of American policy in Conakry: the Prime Minister, he learned, has trouble getting around the isolated bush country. The US should give him a DC-3. "One of the first things Khrushchev did in India, you know, was to give Nehru that Ilyushin." He is incensed that the State Department hasn't yet been able to find $100,000 for a plane in the budget. Guinea's Prime Minister might like a DC-3; but he is, by all accounts, like Nehru, a man as complex as his country. One suspects that Symington might incline to oversimplify diplomacy in the Conakrys of the world.

Somewhat disconcertingly, Symington alternately radiates sincerity on one subject and then, on the next, sounds very much the facile contriver (or, as one critic said, "like a phonograph record issued by the Democratic National Committee"). In the end one is left with a sense of a well-meaning man who has become more than customarily addicted to saying what pleases the listener at hand.

Symington has suffered the misfortune (for him) of representing a state with one of the world's great independent newspapers, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and when he has wobbled he has been given a proper working over. In February, 1954, as the revised George version of the Bricker Amendment was nearing a vote, he remained one of the last to commit himself. He valued his ties with Southern Senators who were allied with George and only weeks after the vote fell four short of the required two-thirds majority did he say that he would have gone against George. (The *Post-Dispatch* caught up with him by trans-Atlantic telephone on a junket in Spain when it developed that the George forces were after his vote.)

It was "at the prompting of a Democratic colleague, Sen. Stuart Symington," wrote Robert Donovan in *Eisenhower: The Inside Story*, that Joseph McCarthy sent his 1953 letter to the White House demanding that the President impose an embargo on Red China (Vice President Nixon persuaded McCarthy to withdraw it in the interest of US-allied relations); in July, 1956, Symington signed the majority report of McCarthy's Investigations Subcommittee, again attacking the Administration for failing to crack down on allied trade with Soviet-bloc countries. The *Post-Dispatch*, acidly

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observing that it was "not too surprising" to find Symington on this side of the issue, pointed out that "our country does not have the power to impose an embargo on other nations' trade with the Soviet countries" and commended the "common sense principle that it is better to limit the trade and maintain allied agreement than to shatter the agreement and so open the way to unlimited trade or worse."

On nuclear testing the *Post-Dispatch* has made Symington's life miserable. It is to his credit that he was known as one of the most diligent members of the Humphrey Disarmament Subcommittee during his three-year membership. Those who observed him in action have nothing but admiration for his studious attention to all the evidence on both sides of the critical test ban debate. As the *Post-Dispatch* has made clear, however, Symington has not to this day taken an unambiguous position on testing. In 1958, when a test ban first seemed to be a serious possibility, he advocated a suspension of tests separate from a comprehensive disarmament "package" and solemnly charged the Administration with a "grave mistake" in insisting on the package approach. The *Post-Dispatch*, which had been trying for years to smoke him out, qualified its congratulations with the comment that "it is always more effective to point out 'grave mistakes' when they are being made than in retrospect. Secretary Dulles broke up the London disarmament talks last summer by insisting on tying test suspension to a 'package' and Senator Symington did not dissent."

Recently Symington claimed he was misquoted when Benjamin Bradlee reported in *Newsweek* that "on the question of a nuclear test ban, he is against it, believes the Russians would find a way to test nuclear weapons undetected." But he then said, according to Chalmers Roberts in the *Washington Post*, that he was anxious about the present Geneva negotiations because "we may be agreeing to something that could be extremely serious, if not disastrous, to our future security. I don't want to say I'm against it; but there ought to be more dissemination of information about the problem. . . ."

Why, speculated the *Post-Dispatch*, does "the Senator find so much difficulty in making himself clear on this subject? Perhaps the reason is that he is not clear in his own mind. Or perhaps it is that he feels a political compulsion to support a test ban because of the powerful public opinion in favor of one, but deep in his heart does not agree with that public opinion. From what we know of his thinking, we believe the latter explanation to be true. . . . We suspect that if he were President he would rely more on building weapons than upon negotiating to control them."

(A revealing illustration of Symington's attitude toward the *Post-Dispatch* came during the controversy over the Fulbright-Harris bill exempting natural gas from price regulation at the wellhead. This reporter has spoken with a Dallas oilman who went with four other petroleum industry spokesmen to ask for Symington's vote shortly after the bill was reported out in July, 1955. Symington is said to have told his callers that he favored the bill and would vote for it if the delegation could but persuade the *Post-Dispatch* "to lay off." Subsequently, the delegation paid a futile call on *Post-Dispatch* publisher Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., and Symington voted against the bill, which was passed 53-38 and later vetoed by the President.)

What to do about Castro's Cuba has similarly bothered Symington. One can have no doubt after talking with him that he does comprehend the need for caution and restraint. Yet he loses his nerve. Cornered on the question of economic reprisals against Castro, he told a questioner on ABC's "College News Conference" in March that "personally, at this time I would reduce the sugar quota, yes. To the best of my knowledge." It was as if he could see his good friend George Smathers watching him on the screen. He now says that what he *meant* was that the President should be given clear authority to reduce the quota if necessary.

"A Question of Stature"

"Basically," concluded the *Post-Dispatch* on February 24, 1960 ("The Unlit Fires"), "it is a question of stature. A great many Americans have just not been convinced that Mr. Symington, admirable as he is in many respects, possesses the greatness of vision, the breadth of historical insight, the thoughtfulness, patience and statesmanship that are so clearly required of a national leader in the new era of the 1960's."

How does Symington seek to counteract the impression that he is simply not of Presidential stature? At times his managers don't even try, presenting him as "everyone's second choice." But when they do they emphasize his record in business (and government) as an administrator. To Symington, "the three words 'build a business' best state the genius of America." And it follows that the Symington record of achievement in business best sums up the case for his nomination. He may not be the word-artist that Adlai Stevenson is – "I've never been regarded as an egghead" – but he is said to have excellence of another kind. He is the great executive. He is the man for the world's biggest job of executive management.

Let us put Symington to the test on his own terms. The meaningful way to measure the slur that he coasts along on charm is not, perhaps, to ask him for a twenty-minute disquisition on Guinea but to go back into the record and to see what in the way of executive stature and accomplishment is really there. Journalists commenting on Symington's appointment, say, to a post in the Truman Administration, might well have been struck by the happy contrast between this elegant fellow

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and some of the cheesier political types then arriving from Missouri. Symington obviously had the executive background to be head man at the Surplus Property Administration or the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or the Air Force, and so no one looked too carefully into the details of his career. The typical story came to be that he had earned a reputation in the Thirties as a crackerjack rejuvenator of ailing corporations in the East and had then gone on to still greater triumph in St. Louis as the dynamic president of the once-faltering Emerson Electric Company. (It was through war work at Emerson that he had come into contact with the chairman of the Truman investigating committee, which in turn was to bring him to Washington). The image emerged of a self-made man who had "built a business."

The record does not conform entirely to the image. Though he did have a successful career, he was not handicapped by the fact that he had rich uncles who set him up in his first businesses and an intelligent, lovely wife who was the daughter of Republican Senator James Wadsworth and John Hay "Jock" Whitney's cousin.

He had six uncles. Between them they ran the T. H. Symington Company (now Gould-Symington) and three affiliates, Gould Coupler, Gould Storage Battery and Gould Car Lighting. Uncle T. H. made railroad underframes in Rochester, New York, and this is where the ambitious and bright young boy of the family reported for his first job in June, 1923, not quite finishing up at Yale. He was on his own as an iron puddler: he lived in a $10-a-week boarding house, and after his marriage to Eve Wadsworth (Coolidge came to what was one of the big Washington social events of 1924), they roughed it in a two-room flat. He had a taste for more than a year of what it was like to start from the bottom. Then in the winter of 1924-25 he began to go from one uncle to another, learning the executive ropes. He left Gould Coupler abruptly when the uncle in question objected to being told that his firm didn't know how to pour iron, which, Symington says today, it didn't.

Another uncle sat him down at a drafting board, but he soon had an idea for a venture of his own and got a family loan of $250,000 to buy Eastern Clay Products in adjacent northern Pennsylvania. A born merchandiser, Symington rapidly built up sales, and when profits improved, he sold out, pocketing his first big money.

Radios looked like a coming thing in the pre-depression year of 1928. The family set him up in a loudspeaker manufacturing venture which coincided with the 1929 crash and the switch to radio sets with built-in speakers. Uncle C. J. (the only one now living) recalls that "we had to wind up that one" in less than a year. But there was a radio manufacturer with a branch in nearby Buffalo operating on a long-term supplier contract with Sears, Roebuck (Sears also held one-third of the stock). The family bought the firm (Colonial Radio) with its Buffalo affiliate, putting up $500,000 in new capital, and Symington was installed as president.

Sales, Connections and So On

He was able to renegotiate the existing Sears relationship; in addition to continuing the manufacture of Sears' Silvertone radios, he got contracts to make cream separators. It was all on the basis of a "minimum dollar figure" – Sears agreeing in advance to buy a certain amount per year and taking a 49 percent share of the stock as part of the deal. "Stuart was there to build up sales and develop connections and so on," explains Uncle C. J., now chairman of the Symington-Wayne Corporation. "And of course I was there helping him all the time behind the scenes."

After a year in Buffalo, Symington moved to New York and operated Colonial from an office in the Graybar Building. In the distress year of 1932, when radio companies the country over were folding up, Symington was saved by his partnership with Sears, which gave him a $475,000 line of credit. Eventually he unloaded Colonial at a profit in 1934.

This was the year Eve Symington drifted quite by accident into a considerable celebrity as a supper club singer. She sang some French ballads at a society hospital benefit one night and what was at first an amateur popularity at parties soon turned into $1,750 per week engagements at the Persian Room of the Plaza and at the Waldorf. "Much of the 'playboy' label that was attached to Symington in later political campaigns," writes Edward P. Morgan, "originated in this light-hearted four-year interval when he followed his wife around the supper clubs as a fan – and technician (his electronic experience was helpful in the fine points of microphone adjustment)." But the interval wasn't entirely a holiday from business: Symington dabbled in several minor ventures and in 1935 he took on the presidency of the stodgy Rustless Iron and Steel Company of Baltimore on a generous stock option deal from Charles S. Payson (married to Eve's cousin, Joan Whitney), who controlled the firm. "His main job was to build up a market for their products," recalls Uncle C.J. "I helped him get some contracts with the railroads." A close friend of Symington's on Wall Street says that he did a fine job at Rustless but notes that "he had the market with him."

In both the Colonial and Rustless enterprises (the latter was sold at a profit in 1937) Symington employed the services of Trundle Consultants, a pioneer management engineering firm. The late founder, George Trundle of Cleveland, was later to become a key "dollar a year" troubleshooter for mobilization boss William S. Knudsen during the war. Trundle was

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a highly-respected figure with wide connections in the business world and he made no small contribution to Symington's career – both in helping him revitalize Colonial and Rustless in the early Thirties and in the later 1938-45 period, too, when Symington headed Emerson Electric in St. Louis.

"Mr. Trundle," says Lewis Goetz, vice president of Trundle Consultants and also an old friend of Symington's from Emerson days, "had something to do with getting the Emerson job for Symington" (and, one might possibly surmise, with getting the Emerson job for Trundle). Symington was also the nominee for the presidency of Emerson of his golfing partner at the Links Club on Long Island, James V. Forrestal, then head of Dillon, Read. A friend of Forrestal's in the underwriting business had a controlling interest in Emerson, an old established firm which had gone its sedate way since 1890 making motors and fans until a spate of labor trouble in the Thirties.

Buying Time at Emerson

During his first year in St. Louis Symington lived at the Racquet Club and commuted back and forth from New York to see Eve and his two sons, Stuart, Jr., and James Wadsworth. Industrial relations consultant Fred Karches, formerly Emerson's personnel director, who was one of the mainstays of the old management and who survived the Symington new broom, says that Lewis Goetz was at Symington's side in St. Louis throughout the first 14 months of actual reorganization. Out hustling up new business for Emerson, Symington went back to his old friends at Sears and was able to add a number of items for the Sears catalog onto the existing Emerson markets.

Symington's most publicized achievement at Emerson and one that was to have sharp repercussions (both pro and con) in his later public life was his settlement with the Communist-controlled leadership of the United Electrical Workers local. This was the period when Communists and non-Communists had an uneasy truce within many CIO unions. Symington had known James E. Carey, a national leader of anti-Communist UE forces, since Carey had organized the Colonial plant at Buffalo in 1933. He consulted Carey before sitting down with Communist William Sentner (a national UE vice president) at Emerson, and he may have thought that his friendship with Carey provided some sort of insurance against any default by Sentner on the new Emerson agreement. But Sentner, who died recently, had little reason to default: he had in Symington an opposite number who was flexible enough to do business with a union as matter-of-factly as he would with another management. Symington opened his books to Sentner to back up his claim that Emerson could not afford an immediate wage increase and then offered in place of a raise a voluntary dues checkoff. His labor and race relations policies at Emerson make his ADA-line Senate record in these areas eminently plausible.

Symington himself gives the brainy Sentner much credit for his labor-management honeymoon at Emerson. Emerson's veteran counsel, Robert McRoberts, says that "it takes a smart union leader to recognize when a company can't pay. With a less intelligent union leader up from the ranks it might have been different." "Stuart, you know," he adds, "wasn't saying, 'I've got a bright new theory of labor relations.' He didn't give any more than he had to. He wasn't so much concerned with whether the union was a good thing or a bad thing – he had to buy time and this was all he had to trade with."

Buying time meant, as it happened, buying only a few months until war contracts converted what was a $5.5 million per year firm at its peacetime peak to something in the $100 million a year class. In 1939 Symington got an $822,000 War Department order for shell parts and electric motors. And in 1941, when heavy bomber output was stepped up to 500 per month, he persuaded Trundle and Knudsen that Emerson, equipped as it was to make hermetic motors, was the logical firm to convert to aircraft machine-gun turrets. The Defense Plant Corporation put up a new $15 million plant for Emerson in mid-1941. Lewis Goetz returned to St. Louis for the duration.

It was easier for Symington than for most men to open the right doors in Washington. "He had the damndest broad acquaintance of top social and business friends all over the country you ever saw," says McRoberts. "And especially in Washington – you know, Bob Lovett and Forrestal, people like that. And don't forget, Senator Wadsworth was on Armed Services." (Symington had first become interested in turrets at the suggestion of David Van Alstyne, Jr., the Forrestal friend who had helped install him at Emerson). At the same time, his success in delivering on the turret contracts once he got them won him the unanimous commendation of all those at Emerson.

Symington's strongest points are his salesmanship and drive. He has worked hard and competently. Still, whether or not one agrees with him that the Presidency is primarily a job of executive management, there remains the question: is he a great executive? In his new study *(The Men From the Boys)* of "those subtle differences . . . that distinguish ordinary managers from those who have reached full executive stature," Perrin Stryker of *Fortune* stresses the distinction between "executive talent" and that extra "judgment and vision" which are the marks of leadership. "The common tendency," he observes, "is to assume that the head of a big corporation is, *ipso facto*, a leading executive, even though his claim to notice may be only an exceptional shrewdness . . ."

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A New Sicilian Masterpiece

by William Jay Smith

When *Il Gattopardo* was nominated for the Strega award, Italy's highest literary prize, Alberto Moravia is said to have remarked that anyone who voted for it was voting against the modern Italian novel. And at first glance, he seems to have been right; for this historical opus complete with romantic trappings looks as out of place among works of recent Italian fiction as a carefully executed representational painting would in a room filled with abstractions. The fact that the book was the sole work of a literary amateur, a recently deceased Sicilian prince, based on the life of his paternal great grandfather, appeared to bear out Moravia. But the novel found backers all the same, chief among them Ignazio Silone, who can certainly not be considered a reactionary. It won the award, and was hailed in Italy, and later throughout Europe, as a novel not only of merit but of genius. Now magnificently translated by Archibald Colquhoun, it will surely enjoy a long life in English as well as in Italian.

The Leopard
by Giuseppe di Lampedusa
(Pantheon; $4.50)

The story behind the composition of *The Leopard* is as romantic as the tale itself. Giuseppe di Lampedusa, whose widow is a Baltic noblewoman and a practicing psychoanalyst, had lived in London and Paris as well as his native Palermo and had read in the original all the best of European literature. Although he had contemplated writing his novel for twenty-five years, he did not get around to it until after he was sixty and completed it only a short while before his death at sixty-one in 1957. He submitted one copy of his manuscript to the novelist Elio Vittorini, a fellow Sicilian, who read it for one of Italy's most important publishing houses. Vittorini decided that it was more an essay than a novel, and rejected it as unpublishable. Five days after receiving this news, Lampedusa died; and it was not until months later that another unsigned copy of his manuscript found its way into the hands of Feltrinelli, the publisher of *Doctor Zhivago,* who published it with enthusiasm.

Vittorini and Moravia will probably find their rejection of *The Leopard* as hard to live down as Gide did his rejection of Proust. It is always difficult, as Proust himself remarked, to judge something completely new. We are shocked by things to which we are not accustomed; and a style long out of fashion may seem new by reason of the audacity of its reintroduction at the appropriate historical moment. Stylistically *The Leopard* is clearly of the old school: in its panoramic sweep, it recalls Tolstoy; in the precision of its writing, it reflects the influence of several 19th-Century French novelists. The author's model is Stendhal (his hero's name is Fabrizio), but there are echoes also of Flaubert and Mérimée. It is not merely the mechanics of style, however, that evoke the French novelists. The author is so schooled in French literature that *The Leopard* gives the curious impression of having been written by one who thought in French but wrote in Italian.

Italian the novel certainly is in its baroque operatic sweep: the plot is simple, but somehow at the end the reader is left feeling that he has covered a vast amount of ground, emotional as well as historical. The action begins in Palermo in May 1860 when Garibaldi lands in Sicily on his way to overthrow the Bourbon monarchy in Naples and ends with the fiftieth anniversary of the landing in May 1910. The principal character is Don Fabrizio, Prince of Salina, a benevolent nobleman and part-time astronomer who realizes that the arrival of Garibaldi means the end of his way of life and the rise of a new class. Skeptical and smiling, he broods like a giant over the changing scene, a timeless figure caught between past and present, his eyes fixed on the stars.

This is no ordinary historical novel to be followed for the sake of its fast-moving action; Lampedusa is more interested in the psychological interplay of his characters and in their symbolical extension. The *gattopardo* of the title is the spotted wildcat rampant on the Salina coat of arms; it is the Prince of Salina himself with his huge frame, fair skin, and light hair betraying his German background. Moreover, it represents with its tawny hide the true ruler of Sicily, the savage sun, which "kept all things in servile immobility, cradled in violence as arbitrary as dreams." It is also the product of that sun, the Sicilian landscape itself with its flaming hillsides "yellow with stubble, black with burned patches." *The Leopard* is, in essence, a study of Sicily. It is the power of Lampedusa's visual imagination that gives the book its strange and haunting vitality: he sees everything in panorama, complete down to the most minute detail. Each fragment of landscape is given its precise and poignant equivalent. Huge bougainvillaeas cascade over the gates of a villa "like swags of episcopal silk." The Prince's telescopes are pictured as lying quietly, dazed by the sun "with black pads over the eyepieces, like well-trained animals who knew their meal was given them only at night."

It was the design of an earlier Sicilian novelist, Giovanni Verga, with whom the modern Italian novel began, to compose a series of novels about Sicilian life at its various social levels. He completed only two of these, the first about a family of peasants, the second about a *petit bourgeois.* Lampedusa concerns himself with the view from the top of the ladder; but because he has set down, as Croce said in speaking of Manzoni, "all the tragedy and comedy of a subtle moral conscience," his vision of Sicily, and of existence, is no less moving.

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Truman's Thoughts on the Presidency

by Frederic W. Collins

Judging by what has appeared already, it seems quite likely that many reviewers and possibly many readers will miss the chief meanings and values of this book, which are great. They lie in its discussion of the Presidency. Seemingly out of habit, comments on former President Truman's books, including this one, tend to turn on controversies of personality, and cocky remarks under the general heading of giving 'em hell. But the controversies are old and the traits of the author are well known.

Mr. Citizen
by Harry S. Truman
(Geis; $5)

Much more important is that Mr. Truman possesses the highest combination of experience, perception, and *interest* in the Presidency available to us in any living mind today.

Mr. Truman makes one stab at his best subject early in the book: "Some people do not seem to understand that it is one thing to make decisions as President and an entirely different business to make decisions as a private citizen. . . . In the White House, I never allowed myself to think that Harry Truman, from Independence, Missouri, was a person deciding the fate of the world. I was deciding as President, and not as an individual thinking in terms of what he would prefer as an individual."

Then for nearly a hundred pages he wanders off except for a very few sporadic references to the Presidency. He stipulates that there should be no politics in foreign policy and defense. He asserts his probably sound belief that a President should start at the bottom in politics, not at the top. He returns to the Presidency, however, in two chapters called "Seminars," derived from question and answer sessions with student groups gathered to hear "H.S.T.: Roving Teacher."

These are in many instances marvels of precise summary. Reading them against one's memory of his bang-bang press conferences, one realizes that what have been considered snap-judgments and off-the-cuff responses by Mr. Truman are not really that at all. He can be guilty of that sort of thing, too, but his good answers are the product of an extremely rapid review of information and experience, phrased with a simplicity, clarity and brevity for which he can only be envied.

Aptitude tests for the Presidency: "There's nothing in our history, so far as I am able to find out, that shows a man can be trained to be President of the United States. . . .

"I think I myself am a fair example of the fact that a special kind of training is not absolutely necessary, if the man has solid experience in government, a knowledge of history, and, most important of all, if he does his homework . . ."

Mr. Truman recollects, disapprovingly, the Congressional caucus method of choosing Presidential nominees, scrapped by Jackson. Then he uses the information with incisive relevance later: "I don't approve of Presidential primaries. . . . In effect, they go back to the old legislative caucus which Jackson ruled out." (He is objecting to the binding of delegations to one candidate. He says delegates should have free choice).

It is surprising to learn that he also finds primaries too taxing: "A man cannot stand two strenuous campaigns – one to win the state primaries and another to run for election. . . . If I had had to do that on a national basis in 1948, I do not think I could have gone through with it."

The use of history: "A viewpoint of history is like an editorial – you read it and then reach your own conclusion."

There is a valuable chapter on "Six Great Decisions in Our History," the examples showing some of the qualities Mr. Truman considers essential in the Presidency:

George Washington and the dilemma of the Whisky Rebellion: "Yet he did not hesitate. He was President of the United States, sworn to uphold and execute its laws. He called on the governors of four states and ordered fifteen thousand troops . . . to enforce the law."

Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase: "One of the tests of a great leader is the ability to recognize and seize unexpected opportunity." And far-sighted courage – "which included even the courage to modify his own public position."

Jackson and Nullification: An appeal to reason, *plus* the dispatch of troops "to show that he meant business."

Lincoln and Emancipation: Strength and ability in the White House.

Cleveland, saving the two-party system and restoring Presidential independence of Congress: "When a President does not have a fight or two with Congress, you know there is something wrong. . . . It is part of our scheme of government that the executive and legislative branches jealously guard their rights against infringements. . . . In some respects, the separation of powers requires stronger executive leadership than does the parliamentary and cabinet system. . . . The price of independence is eternal vigilance – plus a good deal of struggle."

The office of President: "An erosion of its influence can take place by custom as well as by law or amendment. For one thing, I do not like this present trend toward a huge White House staff. The President must make his own decisions. . . . The smaller the staff around him, the better. Information is what he needs. When he has the right information, he is in a position to make the right decisions – and he, and only he, must make them.

"There has been a lot of talk lately about the burdens of the Presidency. Decisions that the President has to make often affect the lives of tens of millions of people around the world, but that does not mean that they should take any longer to make." (My italics).

Mr. Truman, only part way through this book, takes all but final leave of the subject of the Presidency in a very short, good, chapter called "Spot Decisions." It should be read in one piece, but a couple of quotes from it will suggest its nature:

> The most dangerous course a President can follow in a time of crisis is to defer making decisions until they are forced on him and thereupon become inevitable decisions. Events then get out of hand and take control of the President. . . . He is no longer a leader but an improviser.
>
> Not only must a President be fully

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informed but he must be constantly alert to what lies ahead. And he can see ahead only if he has a sense of history and understands the times he lives in.

. . . I found myself constantly absorbed in what was pending, from the time I arose until I went to bed. . . . That is the nature of the Presidency, and it is impossible to detach yourself from constant preoccupation with it.

It is the Seminars, and the chapters on Great Decisions, on The Presidency, and on Spot Decisions, which hold the promise that Mr. Truman could do a fine book on the office he held, the kind of man it needs, and the connected subjects of politics and government on that plane. He is keenly interested in the instruction of "the youngsters in our schools and universities" in the problems of government. He could do a text enormously useful to them and to adult practitioners of citizenship as well. He has a fine talent for making the subject interesting, a task which has baffled eminent political scientists.

He says that he hopes soon to write about eight great men, "strong Presidents": Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, and FDR. The Truman Library, he notes, will soon offer scholarships for study of the Presidency, and perhaps later, of the great men of Congress and the courts. To this general development of knowledge, Mr. Truman still has a great contribution to make. He says he is against monuments for the living, but that should not rule out a do-it-yourself project for him, a monument in the shape of the very best book on the Presidency he has got in him. "The office of the Presidency," he says in one of his laden asides, "is the one organ of our government to which all the people turn when they are beset by fears." That awesome truth ought to be guarantee enough of an audience for what Mr. Truman has yet to say.

In Defense of Karl Shapiro

by Hayden Carruth

Karl Shapiro has written an animated, corrupt, repetitious, illogical, necessary, and dangerous book. He has written it in defense of ignorance, the indefensible – and in a shrill and ranting tone, which will offend all readers of good sense. At the same time, he has had the courage to throw into the open the whole plight of American poetry at the present time. Of course this plight is just what all poets and critics, even those whom Shapiro attacks most sharply, are worried about; but most of them have shied away from a serious public discussion of it because they have felt that such a discussion might jeopardize their own entrenched positions or, more commonly, because they have feared that it must lead to debilitating pessimism.

In Defense of Ignorance
by Karl Shapiro
(Random House; $4)

Shapiro for years has been chipping away at the critics. Usually in rather sedate language, to be sure, but his general position has been clear. Now he abandons his politeness, and in the heat of his argument (perhaps generated in part by the neglect his prose has suffered) he says many foolish things and often says them badly. But he at least does not disguise his animus or his convictions. The roots are exposed clearly in the early pages of the introductory essay. "Criticism," he writes, "is an attitude of mind, not simply a method of elucidation. It is what remains when literature itself has begun to expire. Criticism flourishes when literature has failed. . . ." And he goes on to say that modern criticism has substituted ideology for judgment, has elevated didactic poetry to a supreme position, has concentrated attention on meaning rather than on poetic value, and finally has itself supplanted poetry as the fashionable genre for young writers.

He sums up by proclaiming himself unashamedly an anti-intellectual, and assuredly that is the nub of the matter. "The intellectual," he writes disparagingly, "cannot experience anything without *thinking* about it." The italics are Shapiro's own, and indicate obviously to what camp his allegiance belongs, that is, to the peculiarly modern camp which believes that by mere force of feeling you can split asunder thought and experience, and then choose which of the two you prefer.

This split simply isn't possible. Thought and experience are inextricably bound together. Being bound together, neither can exist by itself, at least if we agree that we mean by experience something more than an instantaneously forgotten sensation; and therefore every poet since the beginning of time has necessarily been an intellectual according to Shapiro's definition. Take the American poets of the 20th-Century whom Shapiro condemns as intellectuals and whom other poetry-readers applaud as the authors of our most beautiful poems. Even in their old age these men are sensualists; at least so I have observed; and however much thinking they may do about their experience, they are always eager for the experience itself, sometimes to the point of disgrace. This doesn't mean just eating, drinking, etc., though the appetites are a large part of experience.

Not long ago I got a letter from a young woman who possesses much poetic talent. I mean that her work is full of fresh images and metaphors; she has *imaginativeness*, just what is most conspicuously absent from other recent verse. Yet her poems remain very slight. She told me in her letter that she was concerned to expunge the last vestige of abstraction from her poetry, and by abstraction she meant ideas. She wanted no thoughts in her poems at all, just things. She wanted her poems to be as concrete as apples or pears. Archibald MacLeish said it too, remember? "A poem should not mean but be." Now thirty years ago, or whenever it was that MacLeish wrote that line, I'm

"THE TOPPLED SUMMIT *marks the bankruptcy of Khrushchev's tactical line, as of Eisenhower's. It proves that the basic international equilibrium remains at dead center. Both sides are strategically stuck, though for different reasons. Russia is stuck because, though she has will and strategic goal she does not yet have the power. The West is stuck because though we have and have had the power we lack both goal and will. Which will be the first side to complete its triad?*"

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sure his statement was a necessary antidote to the moralizing tendencies of much previous verse; but I'm equally sure that MacLeish himself would have agreed to call his statement an antidote, something partial and exaggerated. For the truth is that if a poem is to live it must both mean and be. As for abstraction, if we grant that a work of art is made of parts and that these parts must move, *i.e.* that a work of art cannot be static – and this is the beginning of any aesthetic system – then we must agree that these parts are in dynamic relationship to one another. And since all relationships are abstractions, one's poem is grounded in abstraction whether one likes it or not. Having admitted this much, why not admit ideas as such?

From this base in anti-intellectualism Shapiro continues, in the succeeding essays of his book, to an attack on virtually all modern poetry and criticism, and especially on the Pound-Eliot-Yeats triumvirate, which he holds responsible for the present literary situation. He says many absurd things, as when he implies that Eliot consciously conspired to seize literary power by means of a dishonest criticism, and he makes some outright misstatements, as when he says that Pound could not have found a publisher for *Mauberley* without Eliot's help. But the main point is that in his attack, based upon certain claims of justice, Shapiro sweeps away, very unjustly, poems and ideas that all of us, including Shapiro, must agree are valuable and beautiful. In his analysis of poems by Yeats and Eliot, for instance, Shapiro himself uses techniques of close reading that developed in modern criticism after the publication of Richards' *Principles of Literary Criticism;* shall we throw out those very useful techniques? And shall we throw out the good poems, however few or many in number, that have been written by Yeats, Pound, Eliot, Stevens, Cummings, Tate, Auden, etc., the great figures of the 20th-Century revolution in poetry, simply because these poets have also been guilty of excesses? For that matter, has any lively period in literature ever avoided excess?

I have said that Shapiro's book is both necessary and dangerous. It is necessary because somebody had to say that the school of Eliot has, roughly speaking, become our Orthodoxy, an informal academy entrenched in our teaching and publishing apparatus. Much recent verse is dry, God knows, and anyone who has circulated among our academic scenes knows that many of the people who produce it are dry people, though this by no means applies to all. The dryness comes from the orthodoxy – that seems inescapable – and Shapiro has said this very well. But his book is dangerous because on the basis of this truth it appeals to the ignorant in behalf of a destructive and narrow program. By the ignorant I don't mean those who have done poorly in school, for many fine poets, including some of those attacked by Shapiro, have been bad scholars. I mean instead those who through laziness or impatience have not examined the workings of human consciousness. These are the people who will fail to understand that what we need is not poetry circumscribed by a stipulated kind of experience or written according to anyone's prescriptions, but poetry reconstituted upon the permanent foundations. Let us reassert an old principle. So far as art is concerned – and probably so far as life is concerned – the only and always valid thought is that which arises from and refers to genuine felt experience, whatever that experience may be. If once this is pounded into the heads of our young people, I guarantee the production of dry verse will fall off sharply. And perhaps at the same time we will be able to take (at last!) a dispassionate view of the poetry and criticism of our own bygone era.

President of the United States

. . . the biggest, loneliest job. Early on November 9 one man will know that his is the power, the glory, and the awesome problems. But each of us needs to know these problems to help clear the air of political platitudes in the crucial months ahead. CHESTER BOWLES in *Agenda 1961; New Principles for a New Age* perceptively outlines the great questions which immediately will face the President-elect. In the foreword Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt says, "My husband would have enjoyed these lectures for he also became President in a year of great challenge."

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MOVIES

East Coast, West Coast

"Hell is a city much like Seville," says the Spanish proverb. Two current pictures propose that New York and Los Angeles share the honor. One comes from a major studio, the other is a relatively inexpensive "art" film, and they make an interesting contrast.

The Rat Race, written by Garson Kanin, is a romance on the subject of ugliness. It is set in New York, where everyone comes to make money and which is the worst place in the world to have none. Kanin and his director Robert Mulligan have surveyed the palette of griminess that unmoneyed New York provides and have selected tones which, although in themselves true, are used in ultimately unreal fashion. However, if the film is false, it is nonetheless enjoyable. The very realism – the furnace-hot streets, the sweating janitor, the stifling room, the brick wall across the narrow court that seems to get closer and closer – makes us grateful for the figurative escape of the two pleasant people in the story. On a tiny scale, it provides the comforts of religion before death: rejected merits are rewarded, wings are added to recognizable life.

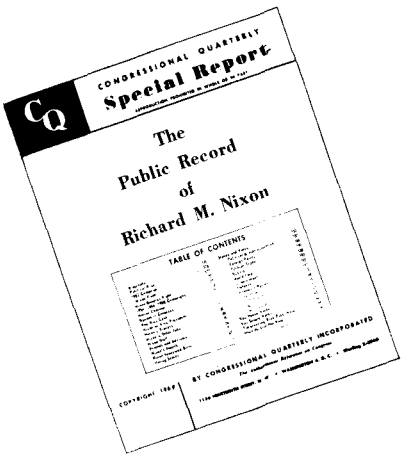
The Rat Race (Paramount)
The Savage Eye (Trans-Lux)

A girl who has come to New York to be a dancer (Debbie Reynolds) is evicted from her rooming house to accommodate a young saxophonist just in from Milwaukee (Tony Curtis). He takes pity on her and offers to share the room with her – on a purely friendly basis. I won't tell you the ending because you now know it. The embittered girl watches the city claw and snap at its new victim; his persistent goodheartedness finally moves her to the point where, without his knowledge, she almost makes the Supreme Sacrifice to help his career. (No, not her life.)

The picture is principally enjoyable because of the convincing portrait of the girl. Debbie Reynolds may turn out to be the most unfortunately named actress since Googie Withers; she, too, was obviously named with another theatrical destiny in mind and is developing into quite a good actress. Miss Reynolds has previously shown a gift for giddy comedy. Here she has brought imagination and empathy to bear, and this character – which has not been fresh since O. Henry – becomes full-dimensioned and quite moving in her hands. Curtis has an even more orthodox part and is satisfactory in it.

Kanin's dialogue is generally bright without being wise-cracky – which one might expect from the author of *Born Yesterday*. Some of the incidental characters, like the shrewish landlady and the kindly bartender, are unrelieved clichés, but what keeps the picture from being serious is the incredible juxtaposition of its credible elements. In short, coincidence.

Juxtaposition of another sort is employed in *The Savage Eye*. It tells of a



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divorcee who arrives in Los Angeles, becomes lonely, allows herself to be used by a man, has an auto accident, recovers, and recovers hope. The thin story is set in a thick matrix of "documentary" shots, consisting of, presumably, all the sordid and daring elements found in Los Angeles: *e.g.*, a homosexual costume ball, blood-drenched accident victims, plastic surgery on a nose, a stripteaser's gaping audience.

For me, the result is unsuccessful. The story confidently expects your sympathy but never earns it; the running verbal commentary is a blend of flatulent and self-consciously frank prose; and the unfolding photographic image is largely unrelated to the plot. Those responsible – Ben Maddow, Sidney Myers, and Joseph Strick – may have planned originally to make the documentation enrich and propel the story, but the story became a thread on which to hang an album of shocking shots. As a result, the picture holds interest only in so far as it shocks, no further.

John Grierson, the famous maker of documentaries, has said of it: "I suppose I have seen about everything the film has seen, but I never saw it in a film before . . . and it is real . . . it isn't fake." This is praise derived from perhaps naïve standards, but it is exactly the sort of praise the film deserves. At quite the other extreme from *The Rat Race*, it does not extract a few threads from sprawling ugliness and make a neat embroidery of them; it rushes out and tries to embrace all of squalor, and with an air of discovery. If it has a message, it is that Santa Claus does not exist and that all those fairy tales they told us back there in grammar school were false, do you hear, false. The makers of this film have posited that surface texture equals ugliness equals life, that if you show that your heroine has an imperfect complexion, you have told the Truth. STANLEY KAUFFMANN

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RECORDS

Operas, Arias and Songs

Handel's *Acis and Galatea*, a comparatively early and only infrequently heard work – his first for the stage in English, offering a flow of fresh and lovely lyrical writing, with moments of humor in the mock-villainous Polyphemus's recitative "I rage – I melt – I burn" and his famous aria "O ruddier than the cherry" – has been issued by London on OL-50179/80 (mono) and SOL-60011/-12 (stereo). Boult paces the work effectively; and the performance has good singing by the soprano Joan Sutherland, the tenors Peter Pears and David Galliver, the bass Owen Brannigan and the St. Anthony Singers with the Philomusica of London.

The new *Rigoletto* on Columbia M2L-404 (mono) and M2S-901 (stereo) features the Metropolitan tenor Richard Tucker, whose voice has ringing power rather than the lightness and sensuous warmth that the part of the Duke calls for. Renato Capecchi is a good Rigoletto; Gianna d'Angelo a pallid-voiced Gilda; the singers of the lesser parts are adequate; the chorus and orchestra are the good ones of the Naples San Carlo; and Molinari-Prandelli paces the performance satisfactorily.

Though the *Carmen* on Epic SC-6035 (mono) and BSC-106 (stereo) hasn't the exciting animation and energy of the Beecham performance recently issued by Capitol, it is conducted effectively by Pierre Michel Le Conte, and offers as its outstanding feature the ear-ravishing singing of Leopold Simoneau as Don José. It also has a good Carmen in Consuelo Rubio, a good Micaela in Pierrette Alarie; but Heinz Rehfuss achieves Escamillo's higher notes only with disturbing strain. The chorus and orchestra of "Les Concerts de Paris" are good.

The somber opening measures of Gounod's *Faust* arouse expectations that are disappointed by the mellifluous tunefulness of most of the work that follows. The performance on Capitol GDR (mono) and SGDR (stereo) 7154 has lovely singing by Victoria de los Angeles as Marguerite, fine singing by Nicolai Gedda as Faust, and good singing in the other parts with one major exception: Boris Christoff being Capitol's big-name bass, he is permitted to blight the performance with his coarse-voiced bawling in badly accented French. The chorus and orchestra are those of the Paris Opera; and Cluytens conducts efficiently. The stereo record reproduces De los Angeles' voice in the final portion of the Jewel Song with a little strident distortion.

RCA Victor LM-2337 offers the voice of Beniamino Gigli in arias, duets and songs recorded between 1925 and 1930. The voice is lyrical and beautiful, though afflicted with sobs, in the final

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

William Jay Smith *has spent many years in Italy and done extensive translation from the Italian.* Frederic W. Collins *is Washington correspondent of* The Providence Journal-Bulletin. Hayden Carruth, *formerly editor of* Poetry *magazine, is the author of a forthcoming book about Ezra Pound.*

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duet from *Lucia* with Pinza; it is more powerful in the arias from *L'Africaine, Martha* and *La Giaconda,* the duets from *La Forza del Destino, The Pearl Fishers* and *La Gioconda* with De Luca; and the only similarity with Caruso's singing occurs in the phrase in the aria from *L'Africaine* in which Gigli, like Caruso, holds and expands a high B-flat until he must break the phrase to take breath (whereas Bjoerling connects the expanded B-flat with the next note in the continuously and beautifully shaped phrase). Much of my pleasure from the record comes from hearing the fine singing of De Luca in the duets

Rococo 23 gives us LP dubbings of a number of acoustically recorded performances of the famous soprano Marcella Sembrich – most of them of florid operatic arias in which she exhibits brilliant agility and accuracy but no sense for steady, coherent tempo, and feels privileged to indulge in exhibitionistic interpolations of additional high notes and florid passages. In two songs – Schubert's *Wohin* and Schumann's *Der Nussbaum* – the singing is steadier in pace and more straightforward in style, though not without distorted phrase shapes here and there.

Angel 35699 offers a third Schubert recital by Fischer-Dieskau and Gerald Moore, with beautiful and expressively eloquent performances of *An die Musik, An Sylvia, Die Taubenpost, Fruehlingsglaube, Die Sterne,* and a few songs that I care less for.

Victor LM (mono) and LSC (stereo) 2279 give us the beautiful singing of the soprano Leontyne Price in songs by Fauré, Poulenc, Strauss and Wolf, most of which I find uninteresting.

London stereophonic OS-25123 offers the mezzo-soprano Giulietta Simionato in the performances of arias from *Mignon, Werther, Carmen* and *Samson et Dalila* that were first issued on monophonic 5269 – performances in which her sumptuous voice is more impressive than in some of the additional excerpts from the complete recordings of *La Favorita, Il Trovatore, La Forza del Destino* and *La Gioconda.*

And Flagstad's marvelous performance of Wagner's Wesendonck songs, which London issued some time ago on monophonic 5259, has been issued on stereophonic OS-25101. In *Der Engel, Stehe still* and *Schmerzen* the voice is closer on the monophonic record than on the stereophonic, and as a result we get from the monophonic record an overwhelming flood of lustrous sound that we do not get from the stereophonic. In *Im Treibhaus* and *Traeume,* however, the voice is distant on the monophonic record and a little closer and more voluminous on the stereophonic.

B. H. HAGGIN

Correspondence

The Wisdom of the U-2 Flights

Sirs:

The New Republic has filled its editorial columns with detailed criticism of the timing of Mr. Powers' flight and the Administration's handling of the incident. Your columns, and an article by Mr. St. Onge, have eloquently testified to America's moral failure in the U-2 affair. And you have pointed out that the flights were in violation of international law. But where has there appeared a full-scale discussion of the central question – the wisdom of the decision to make the U-2 flights? What was the military value of the flights? Did they impair our strategic position in Japan, Turkey, and Pakistan, where Mr. Khrushchev's threat of retaliation against future flights cannot have enhanced the popularity of the United States? What are the probable consequences of Mr. Powers' flight upon Russian policy? What impact did the flights have upon the uncommitted nations of the world?

You are correct, but unenlightening, when you say that Mr. Powers' flight was poorly timed. It nevertheless is true, as Vice-President Nixon implied, that the incident would have been em-

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barrassing at any time. What, then, of the wisdom of the decision to make the flights in the first instance?

Stephen M. Herman
Glenview, Illinois

A Conflict of Authority

Sirs:

Professor Seymour Harris in his letter of June 13 calls for improvements in the *structure* of private spending, and states that "we can have more private spending and more public spending (and even a tax cut) with good management." This has been my position all along. My view has been that we have glaring contrasts of luxury, affluence, comfort, and poverty in *both* the private and public structure; that we need conscious policies to correct both; and that the new technology and automation require extremely vigorous expansion of both private and public consumption as the only alternative to rising unemployment of manpower and plant.

Professor Harris denies that "a single outstanding liberal economist" favors what I have called a repression of private consumption to shift resources to public use. If no liberal economist has advanced this view, then many book reviewers, readers, and national leaders have been sorely mistaken.

His comparison between 1934 and 1959, to indicate that some types of outlays have grown far out of line with others, is invalid. In 1934, the whole pattern of our economy was tremendously distorted by the Great Depression. To illustrate, Professor Harris' figures show that private domestic investment has advanced 633 percent since 1934, while no other form of outlays advanced more than 164 percent. Does this indicate that private investment has expanded fantastically out of line, or merely that private investment was abysmally depressed both absolutely and relatively in 1934? Similarly in 1934, the pattern of domestic public spending was most abnormal, for 22 percent of the labor force was unemployed contrasted with 5.5 percent in 1959.

Leon H. Keyserling
Washington, D. C.

Summer Schedule

During the summer months, *The New Republic* will not appear on the following dates:
July 4 August 1 August 22
September 5

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue of September 12.

Reflections on History

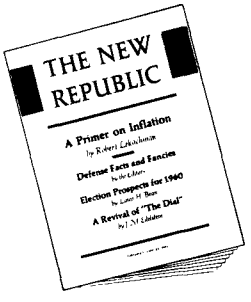
Sirs:

Gertrude Himmelfarb's thoughtful review (June 6) of Miss Wedgwood's reflections on history was very interesting, especially her long quotation from Michael Oakeshott. I wonder why the historians and philosophers who desire to describe the past with a mirror-like objectivity always add "merely" to their announced intentions. Von Ranke is famous for saying that history would *merely* show how things actually were. Sounds so modest, doesn't it?

I suspect after years of reflection on the matter that the historical objectivity which claims or seeks this inhuman, nay undivine, impartiality is really a certain kind of Hegelian-Lutheran mysticism which is badly confused about ethical values and man's moral responsibility for his behavior, even for his writing of history books.

Edwin Halsey
Claremont, California

Columnist William S. White:



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